THE TVVO STATE MARTYRS,

OR,

The Murther of Master ROBERT YEOMANS, and Master GEORGE BOWCHER Citizens of *Bristoll*.

Committed on them by *Nathaniel Fiennes* (second son to the Lord *Say*) the pretended Governor of that City, and the rest of his conspiracie, whom some call a Councell of Warre.

PSAL. 94.20,21.

Wilt thou have any thing to do with the stoole of wickednesse which imagineth mischiefe as a Law?
They gather them together against the Soule of the Righteous, and condemne the Innocent bloud.

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ERRATA.

PAg. 3. lin. 27. read *flaine in the*. p. 4. l. 13. r. *inflame*. p. 5. l. 25. r. *wholy devoted*. pag. 12. l. 27. r. *by negligence*. p. 23. l. 35. r *had recanted*. p. 28. l. 33. r. *and were* p. 28. l. 36. r. *to beleeve*. p. 29. l. 36. r. *to stoop to their*. p. ibid. l. 38. r. *in too Noble*. p. 30. l. 18. r. *mediations*. p. ib. l. 26. r. *one*. p. ib. l. 35. r. *would*.

The two State-Martyrs.

IGnorance to what wee ſhould aſcribe that fatall Lethargie, that hath ſealed up our eyes and benumm'd the hearts of the men of this Nation, not to feele and ſhake off that Iron yoake of bondage which ſome men (to whom in a blind obedience, they have reſigned up their underſtandings, and with their underſtandings their wealth and power) have layed upon them, is no ſmall part of that Calamity under which we groane. Amongſt other cauſes of this ſtupidity and Ignoble ſloth (Tempers unknowne to our Anceſters, and are proper onely to us their degenerous poſterity) two are moſt obvious: *Firſt* the wrath of God, which for our ſinnes hath made us like *Ephraim, a ſilly dove without a heart, having our ſtrength devoured, & we heede it not*: For could it poſſibly be imagined, that a Nation ſo formidable as the world have found and eſteemed us, ſhould thus ſuffer, either our God to be diſhonoured in his worſhip, our King robb'd of his power and revenews, our Lawes of their influence and vigour, and our owne lives, liberties, and properties to be invaded by a prevailing faction of Athieſts and Rebellious Schiſmaticks, and yet ſtand as men amazed in an unprofitable aſtoniſhment, as if the *people within us were women*, heartles, had not God in his juſt anger taken away our hearts, and damp't our ſpirits within us? Hoſea 7. Nahum. 3. 13.

The *second* is the weakneſſe and Impotency of our nature prone to ſinke and plunge it ſelfe into a confeſſed deſtruction, rather then retract or ingeniouſly acknowledge an *Errour* in *that* which we have once inconſiderately and unadviſedly taken upon us to defend: And certainly this laſt though little heeded hath no ſmall influence on that ſlow pace which the men of this beſotted Nation make to the recovery of that peace and happineſſe which they formerly injoyed under the righteous Goverment of a gratious and Religious King.

The Hypocriticall carriage, the frequent but perfunctory faſtings, appearance of holines, affected auſterity, counterfeit mortification, and deep diſſembled humility of the Sectaries of this Church, (& all theſe artificially perſonated) did ſo prevaile not onely with the *vulgus* the credulous multitude, who are apt to be deceived with ſhadowes inſteede of ſubſtances, but even with men of better inſight, that the Nation was led Captive to beleeve that certainely all Religion dwelt with them: and if the primitive zeale, integrity, and devotion of Chriſtians did yet remaine in this decrepit aged world, they had all taken up their habitation in them: Nay the hardeſt that men of ſound underſtanding conceived of them, was often expreſſed in the charity and candor of *Lactantius*, *O quàm honeſtâ voluntate miſeri ſunt* ! *with how good a meaning theſe poore ſoules did erre*: Inſomuch if any of them by order of law did ſuffer condigne & deſerved puniſhment for offences Scandalous or criminall: If they have bled at the eare, or the *rod* had gone over the *fooles back*; what an outcry did the people make as if Religion were wounded through their ſides, or S. *Steven* himſelfe a ſecond time did ſuffer Martyrdome? In a word, if the Miniſters of the Goſpel did in their ſermons or diſcourſes but endeavour to unmaske their Hypocriſie, and take this borrowed vizard from off their faces, and repreſent them in their true colours to the people: if the Biſhops and governours of the Church endeavoured to withſtand this growing evill, as knowing that if their faction prevailed they would grow dangerous and formidable both to Church and State, they were all cryed downe as enemies to religion, defamers and perſequters of the Children of God

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and the great promoters and advocates of Romiſh ſuperſtition: and though the world at this day ſee and are throughly convicted by too ſad experience that this was true, and are fully perſwaded that they made uſe of a pretended ſhew of godlines denying the power thereof, thereby to make the eaſier way to their diſloyall treaſonable intentions, yet they are afraid openly to confeſſe it, as if ſuch an ingenuous acknowledgement would call in queſtion their diſcretions being once otherwiſe perſwaded: Inſomuch that they that could open their mouthes wide againſt that Authority that drew bloud but at a ſchiſmaticks *noſe* or *eare* farre enough from the vitall parts, now ſtand dumbe & ſpeechleſſe to ſee the ſame faction murther their fellow Subjects, ſhed rivers of Chriſtian blood, & think their hands no leſſe then ſanctified by a mercyleſſe ſlaughter of their Innocent Brethren.

The care that God tooke to preſerve the land of his people undefiled by Innocent blood was very great, and therefore did provide not only when the *murtherer* was knowne that he that ſhed mans blood, by man his blood ſhould be ſhed againe, according to that command, *Ye ſhall not pollute the Land where ye are: for blood it defileth the Land, and the Land cannot be cleanſed of the blood that is ſhed therein but by the blood of him that ſhed it: Numb.* 35:33: But likewiſe where the murtherer was not *knowne*, that the innocent blood ſhed in the Land might not be charged upon them: aud therefore in the 21 *of Deut*: God preſcribes an Expiation for murther when the murtherer was *not* knowne, for if a man were found ſlaine the field, The Elders of the City *next to the ſlain man* were to take *an heifer and ſtrike off his necke in a rough valley, and ſhall waſh their hands over the heifer: and ſay, Our hands have not ſhed this blood, Neither have our eyes ſeen it: Be mercifull O Lord unto thy people Iſrael whom thou haſt redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy people of Iſraels charge: and the blood ſhall be forgiven them: ſo ſhalt thou put away the guilt of Innocent blood from among you: ver: 6,7,8, &c.* In which law it is plaine, that the guilt of *Innocent blood* may cleave to our hands though our hands have not ſhed it, and the way to waſh our hands cleane from that guilt is to proteſt a-

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gainſt the ſhedding it, to deny our conſent to it, being done, and as much as in us lies to bring the puniſhment of Innocent blood upon the heads of thoſe that ſhed it: without this we contract anothers guilt and communicate in his ſins. The Innocent blood ſhall not be forgiven us: when therefore God, to whom *appertaine the iſſues of Life*, ſhall come and make *Inquiſition* for blood, and the murthered ſhall cry out with *Job*, O *Earth cover not thou my blood:* Job: 16: 18: That then we may lift up pure hands undefiled with our Neighbours blood, though but with conſent and approbation. Nay that we may free our ſelves from the blood of all men by earneſt prayer to God not to lay Innocent blood though ſhed by others to our charge, to inflame your devotion, I have as it were brought forth the bodies of theſe two late *Martyrs*, Mr *Robert Yeomans* & Mr *George Bowcher Citizens of Briſtol*, & expoſed them to the view of the world, That ſo ſhedding ſome *tears* over their graves, They may remaine an Everlaſting Monument of our *Innocency* in the ſight of God, of our *Juſt indignation* againſt ſuch cruelty in the ſight of men, & a ſweet oyntment to imbalme theſe men to their funerals, that though with their ſaviour (the ignominy of whoſe Croſſe ſanctified the death even of the accurſed tree) in their death they were *numbred amongſt the tranſgreſſours*, yet (Loyalty being their Epitaph) they may *make their graves amongſt the Honourable.*

But becauſe to blinde the eyes of the world not to ſee the cruell Injuſtice practiſed on theſe worthy Citizens, to amaze the minds of the people, and to take off from the odiouſneſſe of ſo fowle a Murther, they have not onely in their lying Pamphlets proclaimed it unto the world, that Maſter *Yeomans*, Maſter *Bowcher*, and ſome other well affected members of that City had contrived a horrid Treaſon, that in the barbarouſneſſe of it did outdoe the powder Treaſon, having conſpired at once to ruine the Proteſtant Religion, and to Murther all thoſe of that City which did adhere to the Parliament, but alſo to mocke God (to that height of impiety they are growne) ſolemne thankes were ordained to be given for deliverance from ſo dangerous a conſpiracie: it will not be amiſſe to derive this

Tragedie

Tragedie by way of Hiſtoricall Narration from the firſt to the laſt Scene: that ſo the abuſed world may ſee what arts are uſed on that ſide to poſſeſſe themſelves of the good opinion of men, that in the meane time they may practiſe cruelties unheard of, untill the bloody Anabaptiſts ſprung up the moſt pernicious weedes that ever infeſted the Church of Chriſt.

After the King was ſate downe at his Winter Quarter in *Oxford*, and had given Sufficient Teſtimony to the world by the 2 glorious victories which God gave him at *Edge-Hill*, and *Brainceford*, that his forces were not ſo contemptible as the Lord *Say* reported them, who to ingage the people of *Oxfordſhire* in Rebellion, did at a publique meeting at *Woodſtocke*, proteſt upon his honour *that the King had neither men, nor money, nor arms, but the Parliament had all theſe*. Men generally began to conſider not only what might be the iſſue of two powerfull, Armies, more equally poiſed then at firſt they thought them; which was the Conſideration of worldly Politicians, but likewiſe on what warrantable grounds the Parliament proceeded to take up offenſive armes againſt their undoubted Soveraigne: and this was the Conſideration of every Conſcientious Chriſtian. This laſt point taken into debate, and ſtrictly ſcann'd by the word of God and the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome, did alienate the affections and aſſiſtance of many men from the Parliament before wholy drawne to them, notbeing able to concurre with them without wounding their conſcience, nor knowing how to Juſtifie their undertakings by the Lawes of God or man.

When this Parliament firſt ſate, theſe Gentlemen with the reſt of the kingdome rejoyced to ſee that day, and ſtood at gaze as greedily as any, expecting what acts of bounty, what reliefe from grievances our Gracious Soveraigne through their hands would convey unto his Subjects. While their endeavours were Loyall, though roughly carried; while bounded within the duty of Subjects, though onely not exceeding it, they were as forward to applaud them as any: but after the publication of the *Remonſtrance* by the Houſe of Commons (that appeale to the people, and indeed the ground-worke of this preſent Rebellion by ſlandering the Kings government) they that went one mile

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with them would not be compell'd to goe two, especially after the way appeared dangerous, and apparently leading to open Rebellion: *Nullam esse Civitatem quæ non improbos Cives aliquando & Imperitam Multitudinem semper habeat*: was the saying of the *Rhodii* in the *Roman Senate* recorded by *Livy lib.* 45. There is no City but hath sometimes some ill affected Citizens, but allwayes an Ignorant multitude, perhaps this in part might be the temper of *Bristol* at this time: but the Criticall time was now come, in which men must declare themselves either for the King or against him; and though many men in that City then were and still are deepely Leavened with disloyall principles, yet the major part of the City were and still are the Kings faithfull Subjects, of this party the most eminent men were, Master *Robert Yeomans* Sheriffe of *Bristol* last yeare, Master *George Bowcher*, with divers others, men of good esteeme, plentifull estates, knowne Integrity and true Children of the Church of *England*; These men seeing the miserable Condition of those places where the Rebels bare sway and beginning to be sensible of the same bondage under Colonell *Essex*, enter into a Consultation how to put the City of *Bristol* into the Kings possession and protection: To this purpose they dispatch an agent to the Court, to informe the King that he had many good Subjects in *Bristol*, and withall to signifie their desire to deliver up his owne City to himselfe, if he would be pleased to send some of his Forces thither, to take it.

The Reasons which prevailed with them to make this tender unto His Majesty were many; we may reduce them to three heads.

First, Conscience to God, not to resist the King, Knowing that they that doe resist shall receive unto themselves damnation, and therefore resolved never to joyne themselves to the damnable Sect of the *Hothamites* those state Heretickes who count it their duty to keepe the Kings Townes for the Kings use by shutting the Gates against the Kings person.

The Second Inducement was the frequent affronts given to His Majesty by the Rebels, to the great regret of every good Subiect; and of these they give many Instances:

First,

First, Scandalous and disloyall Speeches on all occasions belched out against His Majesties Person, His Protestations, Declarations, Proclamations, indeed all his actions.

Secondly, Contempt of His Majesties gratious offers, even to the very face of His Messenger; for when in *February* last, the King sent His gracious Letters to the City of *Bristol*, requiring them not to give admittance to any of the Parliament Forces, promising that He himselfe would not impose any on them, but what they themselves should desire; together with the tender of many promises of his favour (given in charge to Sir *Baynham Throkmorton* (whom he sent unto them for that purpose) yet notwithstanding at that very instant in contempt (I say) of this great vouchsafement, The Mayor *Richard Aldworth*, with *Browne* the Sheriffe, two boutefues in perverting that City with some other their associates did send foure peeces of Ordnance to *Marlborough*, there to be imployed against the King. And though Sir *Baynham* upon information given unto him did expostulate the affront with the Mayor, and in the Kings name commanded the stay of them; and though some of the well-affected Citizens having notice of it, came and threw them off their Carriages, because they knew that the intention was to imploy them against the King: yet over-borne by a greater number, who produced the Mayor and Sheriffs Warrant for their conveyance without let or interruption; they were inforced to give way, and thither they were sent.

Thirdly, When in the beginning of *March* last, amongst other Proclamations sent to *Bristol*, one was concerning the Kings Royall Navy, invaded and possessed by the Earle of *Warwicke*, and imployed against His Majesty and His loyall Subjects; The King by that Proclamation forbidding all Sea-men, and Mariners, and all Officers of His Navy to take imployment under the Earle, or to obey his Commands, though Colonell *Fines* then Governour of *Bristol* could have caused that Proclamation to be suppressed and not published, yet as much as he could to dishonour the King in the eyes of His Subjects, he permits it to be proclaimed, that thence he might take occasion to blaspheme His Soveraigne; for being proclaimed on Friday

the third of *March*, the next day (*Saturday*) being the chiefe Market day, when the Market was fulleſt that the newes might be carryed into all parts of the Country, and every one learne from ſo deſperate an example to contemne their Soveraignes Commands: *Fines* comes in his Coach to the high Croſſe attended by a Troope of Horſe, and after a Declaration read, that the Proclamation publiſhed the day before was a ſcandalous and libellous paper, and ſuch as deſerved to be burnt by the hand of a publique Hangman; he cauſed the Serjeant that proclaimed it to burne it, holding Piſtolls to his breſt, and threatning to ſhoot him if he did not hold them high enough, fearing it ſeemes that ſo damnable, ſo unpardonable a Treaſon ſhould want witneſſes.

Laſtly, As the direct end of their deſire to deliver up the City to the Kings protection, was conſcience of duty to God and their Soveraigne, ſo the reflected end was their owne ſecurity, and quitting themſelves of thoſe oppreſſions and grievances under which they ſuffered; and theſe were many.

Firſt, the often repeated Taxations and Loanes of money unto the King and Parliament, as they were pleaſed to joyn them upon the thred-bare ſecurity of the *Publique Faith*, and if any man refuſed to lend on that credit which they had banckrupted long before, he was threatned with impriſonment, plundering, or which was worſe then both, ſending up to the Parliament; and to theſe may be added the dayly drayning their purſes by illegall exactions imployed for repayring the Caſtle, building of Forts, and maintaining a Garriſon againſt the King.

Secondly, by urging upon them new and treaſonable Votes and Proteſtations: if not fully in words, yet in the uſe and interpretation of them directly oppoſite to the Oath of Allegiance, the Oath of the City taken by every Citizen when he is elected into the place of a Burgeſſe, in which they ſweare in the ſixt Article of that oath not to enter into any Oath or Confederacy againſt the King, contrary to the Lawes of the Land: and likewiſe contrary to the Proteſtation recommended from the Parliament to the Subjects of this Kingdome: The Oath (for the tenour of words) was this following.

I A. B. doe proteſt and vow in the preſence of Almighty God, that I will to the utmoſt of my power and to the hazard of my life and fortunes oppoſe all ſuch Forces as ſhall attempt any thing againſt the City of Briſtol, *without the conſent of the King and Parliament ſo to doe.*

In which Proteſtation they tooke the name of the King in vaine, for when they ſay (*King and Parliament*) they meant the *two Houſes* without the *King*, for if actions be the beſt interpreters of the agents words, it is more then manifeſt that by this Proteſtation they intended to ingage that City in Rebellion againſt the King, and that under the tye of Religion. And for proofe, I offer firſt their ſeconding this Proteſtation with another which ſpake more plainly, wherein they were to proteſt with their lives and fortunes to reſiſt Prince *Rupert*, the Lord Generall the Earle of *Forth*, the Lord Marqueſſe *Hertford*; the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* and their Forces: and ſecondly, becauſe as before the tendring of this Proteſtation, they had received Colonell *Eſſex* to Command there for the Parliament; ſo within a few dayes after the firſt Proteſtation was tendered, they admitted Colonell *Popham* and Sir *Edward Hungerford* with their Regiments; and afterward Colonell *Fines* without any oppoſition, that ſo now being backed with ſo ſtrong a power, they might make the latter Proteſtation the interpreter of the former.

Upon the Petition of Miſtris *Mayoreſſe* the Lady *Rogers*, Miſtris *Holſworth*, Miſtris *Viscaru* with other zealous Siſters, to the number of a hundred.

Thirdly, by diſarming all ſuch as were any wayes ſuſpected to beare a good and loyall affection to His Majeſty, unleſſe they would take ſuch Proteſtations as ſhould be tendered to them; and having taken away ſuch Armes as they found, (not ſatisfied with this) they urge on them another Proteſtation, proteſting in the ſight of God, and calling him to witneſſe, that they had no other Armes concealed in their houſes, either their own or others: and if any man refuſed to take this Proteſtation, he was inſtantly impriſoned as an enemy to the State, and a man not to be confided in.

Fourthly, the perpetuall ſcorne and obloquy to which they were expoſed, reproached every day as they paſſed the ſtreets,

with names of Malignants, and Papiſts; nay, as if they had beene worſe then Jewes, they ſpit at them, and threaten to take a ſpeedy courſe with them.

Fifthly, the generall contempt and prophanation of Gods holy worſhip and ſervice, rending of Surplices, tearing the book of Common Prayer, breaking downe Organs, exterminating the whole Liturgy out of their Congregations, and all theſe outrages, not only winked at, but countenanced and incouraged by *Fines* and his fellow Rebels; and that they might have *Like People, Like Prieſt*, They diſcountenance or drive away the Orthodox Miniſters and ſubſtitute in their places the moſt infamous notorious Schiſmaticks that they can pick out of ſeverall Counties, as *Tomb's* of *Lemſter*, in *All Saints* in Maſter *Williamſons* cure an orthodox and godly man; *Craddocke*, *Bacon*, *Walter*, *Simonds*, and one *Matthew Hazard*, whom though I name laſt, yet deſerves to have the precedency of all the reſt, as being a maine incendiary in this rebellion violently egged on by his Wife, whoſe diſciple the ſilly man is: this gave occaſion of ſcandall to all pious, godly men, which honoured the Proteſtant Religion as it is eſtabliſhed, and made them even to abhorre the ſervice of the Lord.

Laſtly, becauſe upon the poynt they were confined to *Briſtol*, not daring to goe out of the City, for in all places where the Commands and Ordinances of the two Houſes prevailed; they had given a liſt of the names of the Malignants that durſt appeare for the King, to the end that if any of them came thither, they might be apprehended and ſent Priſoners to *Tanton*, *Barkeley* Caſtle, or ſome other Priſons; or as Delinquents ſent to the Parliament.

It was no wonder therefore, that a City thus robb'd of its wealth and liberty, groaning under an unſupportable yoke of bondage and tyranny ſhould indeavour by reſtoring the King to His rights, to reſtore themſelves to their former freedome; which could not be done but by breaking theſe bonds, and caſting theſe coards from them: on theſe weighty motives therefore they enter into a loyall confederacy to deliver up the City from its captivity under the Rebels into His Majeſties protection

tection, and that without ſhedding one drop of blood if it were poſſible, but moſt certaine without any reſolution to Maſſacre the Citizens, as hath beene moſt falſely both Preached and Printed: for Maſter *Yeomans* and Maſter *Bowcher* both on their Examinations, and after their Condemnation both affirmed, that there was not any intention of bloud-ſhed; and in the Examinations of Maſter *Yeomans* and others taken before the Councell of Warre at *Briſtol*, ſent up by Maſter *Clement Walker* Uſher of the Exchequer, but now the Advocate to that Congregation of Murtherers that adjudged theſe Innocents to death, and ordered by the Houſe of Commons *Die Lunæ* 22° *Maii*. 1643. to be printed, wee thus read, *The King had alſo aſſured us and given charge to Prince* Rupert *that no violence ſhould be uſed to any, which I doe beleeve was his full intent the rather for that I heare there came a Proclamation to that effect*: where tis obſervable that *Walker* (a man that had his hands ſtayned with his owne Wives bloud before he dipped them ſo deep in theſe Martyrs,) though in that contrived Confeſſion of Maſter *Yeomans*, he bring him in profeſſing his conviction in conſcience of the juſtneſſe of the Parliaments cauſe (when 'tis known, that if he would have recanted and contributed towards this unnaturall War, he and Maſter *Bowcher*, both might have ſaved their lives) yet he dares not ſo to murther his fame after his perſon by charging upon him ſo bloudy a crime, as an intention to maſſacre his fellow Citizens. *Pag.* 3.

'Tis therefore confeſſed on all hands, that Maſter *Yeomans*, Maſter *Bowcher* and others, had an intention to caſt out the Rebels, and to deliver *Briſtol* into the Kings poſſeſſion, reſolving to ſecure the perſons of the Governour and ſome others of the chiefeſt Rebels, but not to kill them: To this purpoſe a Commiſſion is obtained and ſent to Maſter *Robert Yeomans* to rayſe Forces and conſtitute Commanders for the Kings ſervice. Maſter *George Bowcher* contrives a Proteſtation to be taken by all that joyned themſelves to this aſſociation, fully expreſſing the latitude of their intentions in that undertaking: The Proteſtation is extant in Maſter *Bowchers* Examination taken by *Walker* on the 10. of *March* 1643. and publiſhed in the Booke before

mentioned: and is atteſted under his owne hand, which I have ſeene, and was written not long before his death. The Proteſtation was this,

I *Doe voluntarily proteſt before Almighty God upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, That I will to the utmoſt of my power, and with the hazard of my life and fortunes, defend my dread Soveraigne Lord King* Charles, *His Rights, Crowne, and Dignity, againſt all Force and Forces which are or ſhall be rayſed within His Majeſties Dominions without His Royall aſſent, Authority, and Command.* Which was the ſum of this pretended horrid Treaſon.

After communication of Counſells and many Meſſages interchanged, betweene *Oxford* and *Briſtol*, drawing ſome of Colonell *Eſſex* his Commanders into the combination, who loathed and condemned themſelves in their owne imployment, it was reſolved, that upon Monday the ſeventh of *March*, Prince *Rupert* with a partee of the Kings Forces, ſhould face the City on *Durdan Downe*, diſtant not a full mile from the City, and for the aſſociation in the City, their taske was to make good two Ports, *Froome gate* and *New-gate*: who having ſeized on the Guards, were to open the Gates, and to ſignify the accompliſhment of the deſigne, to the Kings Forces to make their approch by the Ringing of Saint *Johns* and Saint *Michaels* Bells: Prince *Rupert* a vigilant and valiant Prince comes that Monday night to the place appointed, expecting the next morning by five of the clocke the ſignall to be given, and the Ports opened unto him: but that night (whether by the negligence amongſt their owne, or vigilancy of the Rebells is uncertaine) the combination was diſcovered, and Maſter *Yeomans*, Maſter *Bowcher* and divers others were that night apprehended in their Houſes, having ſome armed men with them, and were inſtantly committed to ſafe cuſtody; which being ſignified to the Prince, he immediatly withdrew his Forces and marched away.

And now having them in their power, they clap Irons on them, tye them head and feet together, commit them cloſe Priſoners,

Priſoners, deprive them of all comfort to be adminiſtred by their Wives or Children, or friends, and uſed them with that barbarouſneſſe and inhumanity, as cannot be imagined, could be practiced by one Chriſtian upon another; and after ſeventy ſix dayes hard impriſonment, often examination, barbarous inſulting over them, eſpecially by *Nathaniel Fines*, they were brought to their tryall at a Councell of War; where Articles being exhibited againſt them by Advocate *Walker*, they received Sentence of death: what the Articles exhibited againſt Mr *Yeomans* were, may be collected out of the Sentence it ſelf, as wee find it in pag. 4. of the before mentioned Booke of Maſter *Yeomans* his examinations: publiſhed by command of the Houſe of Commons, which for ſatisfaction of ſuch as ſhall caſt a compaſſionate eye on this ſad ſtory we have here inſerted.

The Judgment upon *Robert Yeomans*.

VPon due conſideration of the Articles exhibited on May 8. *by* Clement Walker *Eſquire, Advocate to this Councell of Warre, againſt* Robert Yeomans, *and others the late Conſpirators in this City, and upon due hearing of the Anſwers, and defence of the ſaid* Robert *to the ſeverall Articles, and alſo upon examination and proofes before them taken upon oath. It is unanimouſly adjudged by this Court, That the ſaid* Robert Yeomans *is guilty of traiterous intelligence, and correſpondency with the enemy, and of a traiterous and wicked conſpiracy to betray this Towne into the hands of the Enemy; and thereupon this Court doth adjudge and paſſe Sentence of Death upon him as a Traytor and Conſpirator, and accordingly doth order, that the ſayd* Robert Yeomans *ſhall be returned to the place of his former Impriſonment, and from thence be brought before the maine Court of Guard there to be Hanged by the neck till he die:*

Nath. Fines, Richard Cole, Wal. White, James Ford, Joh. Clifton, Joh. Chamneys, Tho. Hippeſly, Martin Huſbands, Tho. Raulins, Rich. Hippeſly, Tho. Eyre, Thomas Goodere, James Heane, Tho. Wallis, Will. Bowel, Robert Baugh.

To.

To this bloudy Sentence I have added the names of that bloudy Conſpiracy of Murtherers that gave it, that their names and memory may ſtinke with poſterity, and be loathſome to all Generations that ſhall hereafter reade and bemoane the condition of their predeceſſour that groaned under the tyranny of a prevayling faction of Brownists and Anabaptiſts.

Maſter *Robert Yeomans* being thus moſt unjuſtly condemned, *May* 8. on the 22. of the ſame Moneth Mr *George Bowcher* was called before *Fines* and the reſt of that Rebellious crew which call themſelves a Councell of Warre, and that you may gheſſe at the whole by ſome; *William Bowel* is a Pedant, and from whipping of Boyes was made an unrighteous Judge of men; *James Heane* a drunken Atturney; and *Robert Baugh* a Sheep-skin dreſſer, who in the times of peace durſt not come neare Maſter *Yeomans*, but uncovered at a diſtance as his duty was, now pluck'd off Maſter *Yeomans* his Hat commanding him to ſtand bare before him: the Articles exhibited by *Walker* their Advocate were Seven, recorded under Maſter *Bowchers* owne hand, whereof the maine and firſt they inſiſted on was,

1. *Firſt. That he had framed a Proteſtation to defend the King, His Crowne and dignity againſt, &c. The Proteſtation* which you heard before.

2. *Secondly. That he had rayſed Men and provided Armes and Ammunition of all ſorts, Crowes of Iron, Pickaxes, Axes and Iron wedges, with Torches and Linkes to further the Deſigne of ſuppreſſing the Court of Guard at Froome-gate.*

3. *Thirdly. That he conſpired with others to let in Prince* Rupert, *a forraigne Prince* (as they ſtiled him) *who being entred the City ſhould put to death and plunder all the Inhabitants of that City that came not out to aſſiſt and joyne with them.*

4. *Fourthly. That he did undertake to give Prince* Rupert a *ſignall when he ſhould make his approaches to the City by Ringing Saint* Johns, *and Saint* Michaels *Bells.*

5. *Fiftly. That he certified Prince* Rupert, *that the deſigne of giving him entrance into the Towne was diſcovered, and adviſed him to retreat.*

Sixtly.

Sixtly. That he forced open the Croud doore (being a buriall place under the Quire) *under Saint* John Baptiſt *Church, with an intention to uſe it for a Priſon to ſecure ſuch as ſhould make reſiſtance whether they were of the Guard or others, while they were in purſuance of their deſigne.*

Laſtly. That he had lockes and other proviſions to chaine up the paſſages at Saint Johns *Gate, in caſe any of the Parliament Horſe ſhould ruſh in upon them while the worke was in doing.*

Theſe Articles, though maliciouſly expreſſed and aggravated, yet for the matter of them were drawne either from his own confeſſions or depoſitions of others; and upon theſe at the Lady *Rogers* her houſe he received the like unjuſt ſentence of death, as Maſter *Yeomans* had done before.

When the report of ſo illegall, ſo unjuſt proceedings arrived at Court, though at firſt few men did think that their bold inſolency would go on to put the Sentence in execution: yet at laſt conſidering, that they were in the hands, not of honourable enemies, but of Rebels; and of Rebels that were Sectaries, and which was more then both, rebellious Sectaries at the devotion of Maſter *Fines*, who did command in chief, and had ſtrong influence on the reſt. The Earle of *Forth*, Lord Lieutenant of all His Majeſties Forces reſolved to write unto *Fines*, and that by way of Threat, *pari pœnâ exactâ, ut hoſtes à ſuperbo & inſolenti ſupplicio temperarent*, as *Diodorus Siculus* reports of *Philomenus* in the like caſe; that by the menace of the like puniſhment on the Priſoners here, he might ſtave them off from their intended cruelty on the Kings good Subjects there: for thus he writes,

Patrick *Earle of* Forth, *Lord* Etterick, *and Lord Lieutenant of all His* Majeſties *Forces.*

I Having beene informed, that lately at a Court of Warre, you have condemned to death Robert Yeomans *late Sheriff of the City of* Briſtoll, *who hath His Majeſties Commiſſion for raiſing a*

Regiment for his ſervice, William Yeamons *his Brother*, George Boucher, *and* Edward Dacres, *all for expreſſing their Loyalty to His Majeſty, and endeavouring his Service, according to their Allegeance, and that you intend to proceed ſpeedily againſt divers others in the like manner: Do therefore ſignify unto you, that I intend ſpeedily to put M.* George, *M.* Stevens, *Captaine* Huntly, *and others taken in Rebellion againſt His Majeſty at* Cyrenceſter *into the ſame condition: Do further advertiſe you, that if you offer by that unjuſt judgement to execute any of them, you have ſo condemned, that thoſe now in cuſtody here, ſpecially M.* George, *M.* Stevens, *and Captaine* Huntly, *muſt expect no favour or mercy.*

Given under my hand at Oxford, *this* 16 *of* May. 1643.

To the commander in cheife, and
the Counſell of Warre in the City,
of *Briſtoll.*

FORTH.

Having received this Letter by a Drumme, and knowing the great advantage they had by the meanneſſe & baſeneſſe of the Priſoners in the Kings hands put in the ballance with thoſe of the Kings in their hands, while wee expoſe Earles, Barons, and the flower of the Nobility and Gentry to blew Aprons and Broome-men, inſomuch that if a peace ſhould inſue (which God grant) one Article had need be inſerted for the honour of the *Souldiery*, that theſe Mechanicks may be degraded from their Titles, that the names of Colonell, Lieutenant Colonell, Serjeant Major, Captaine, &c. be not diſhonoured by being called upon them, I ſay *Fines* knowing this advantage, returnes this inſolent Anſwer,

Nath. Fiennes Governour, and the Councell of War in the Citie of BRISTOL.

HAving received a Writing from your Lordſhip, wherein it is declared, That upon information of our late proceedings againſt

gainſt Robert Yeamons, William Yeamons, *and others, you intend ſpeedily to put* M. George, *M.* Stevens, *Captaine* Huntly, *and others into the ſame condition. We are well aſſured, That neither your Lordſhip, nor any mortall man, can put them into the ſame condition; for whether they live or die, they will alwaies be accounted true and honeſt men, faithfull to their King and Country, and ſuch as in a fair and open way have alwaies proſecuted that Cauſe, which in their judgement, guided by the judgement of the higheſt Court, they held the juſteſt: Whereas the Conſpiratours of this City muſt both in life and death carry perpetually with them the brand of Treachery and Conſpiracy. And if* Robert Yeomans *had made uſe of his Commiſſion in an open way, he ſhould be put into no worſe condition then others in the like kind had beene: But the law of Nature amongſt all men, and the Law of armes amongſt all Souldiers, maketh a difference betweene open Enemies, and ſecret ſpies & conſpiratours: And if you ſhall not make the like diſtinction, we do ſignify unto you, That we ſhall not onely proceed to the execution of the perſons already condemned, but alſo of divers others of the Conſpirators, unto whom we had ſome thoughts of extending mercy: And do advertiſe you, That if by any inhumane, and unſoldier-like ſentence you ſhall proceed to the execution of the perſons by you named, or any other of our freinds in your cuſtody, that have bin taken in a fair and open way of Warre; then Sir* Walter Pye, *Sir* William Crofts, *Colonell* Connesby *and divers others taken in open rebellion, and actuall Warre againſt the King and Kingdome, whom we have here in cuſtody, muſt expect no favour or mercy. And by Gods bleſſing upon our juſt cauſe, we have pawnes enough for our freinds ſecurity, without taking in any that have gotten out of our reach and power; although divers of yours, of no meane quality and condition, have beene freely releaſed by us.*

Given under our hands this 18 day of May. 1643.

NATHANIEL FIENNES, Preſident.
CLEMENT WALKER, *&c.*

To *Patrick* Earle of Forth, Lord Liutenant-Generall.

When this took no effect, the King gracious as he is, and full of goodneſſe, His bowells yearning over the deſtruction of his worſt Subjects, takes the condition of theſe that ſuffer for him into his pious conſideration; and ſince *Fines* ſwaying the reſt remained obſtinate; the King by a Trumpeter ſends his Letter to the Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of *Briſtol*, commanding them to rayſe the power of the City, and imploy it to the reſcue of theſe men deſigned for ſlaughter: Thus he writes,

CHARES R.

TRuſty and Welbeloved We greet you well. Whereas We are informed, that by the power and Authority of certaine Factious and Rebellious Perſons in that our City of Briſtol, *diverſe of our good Subjects (as namely* Robert Yeomans, George Bourcher, William Yeomans, Edward Dacres *and others) of that Our City are impriſoned for preſerving their Duty and Loyalty to us, and for refuſing to joyne in, or aſſiſt this horrid and odious Rebellion againſt Us, and that the ſaid wicked and traiterous Perſons, have preſumed to condemne the ſaid innocent men to die, and upon ſuch their ſentence notoriouſly againſt the Lawes of God and Man, they intend to execute and murther our ſaid Subjects; Wee have thought fit to ſignifie to you the Major, Aldermen, Sheriffes, and the reſt of the body of the Councell of that our City, that if you ſuffer this horrid and execrable murther to be committed upon the Perſons aforeſaid, and thereby call the juſt Judgment of God, and bring perpetuall infamy upon that our City. We ſhall look upon it as the moſt barbarous & inhumane Act that hath beene yet committed againſt us, and upon you as the moſt deſperate betrayers of us, and of the lives and liberties of your fellow Subiects. And We doe therefore will and command you, not to ſuffer any violence to be done upon the perſons aforeſaid, but that if any ſuch be attempted againſt them, that you raiſe all the power and ſtrength of that our City for their reſcue. And*

to that purpose We command all our good Subiects of that our City to aide and assist you upon their Allegiance, and as they hope for any Grace and favour at our hands; And that you and they Kill and Slay all such who shall attempt or endeavour to take away the lives of our said Subiects, And for so doing this shall be your warrant. And hereof you may not faile at your utmost Perill. Given at our Court at *Oxford* the 29. day of May. 1643.

To Our Trusty and Welbeloved the
Major, Aldermen, Shesiffes, and
the rest of the Common Councell
of Our City of BRISTOL.

This Letter though dispatched the 29 of May, yet the Messenger is not returned to this houre to make report what entertainment it found; onely we are credibly informed, that it arrived at *Bristol* that very day that these Gentlemen by laying downe their lives did beare a good testimony to the truth, but came too late; yet had it come sooner, *Fines* having intelligence that a Letter was coming from the King, kept the Gates shut to keepe out the Messenger, untill their intended Murthers were fully finished: But at last when he had admittance, contrary to the Law of Armes and Nations, *Fines* committed him to prison, where he yet remaines.

All these indeavours of a pious Prince to rescue his faithfull Subjects being frustrated, by the obstinate Malice of these bloudy Rebels, and having no force to compell what he could not perswade, they go on to act their cruell intentions. After Sentence of death passed on thē they pursue them with threats, and use no language to them but death and hanging, often menacing what they could but once inflict: So that each night they thought to dy next morning: having some daies languished under the insulting Cruelty of these bloudy Butchers, and being frequently robbed of their Necessary foode by the Centrinells, (that stood at their Prisons, not so much that they might

not withdraw themſelves from the intended death, as to intercept all comforts that were brought unto them) had they not haſtned the execution, famine would have ſaved them that labour; for Mr *Yeomans* (whom of the two they moſt hated) laden with chaines, ſtifled with the naſtineſſe of a Dungeon, macerated with want of food; but *filled with the ſcornfull reproofe of the proud*, reproached every day with the name of bloudy villaine, and the like, was like to have prevented their malice by dying that morning that he dyed: he was a man of a magnanimous ſpirit, a large Soule fit for great imployments, and therfore more ſenſible of indignities, for great ſpirits oppreſſed like Tapers held downeward, are extinguiſhed by the ſame matter which gives them life; ſo that ſitting by his deare Wife that morning that he dyed, and leaning on her breſt he fell into a ſound, and in probability had then departed, had not the skreekes and outcryes of his Wife recalled him to a more glorious death, that ſo poſterity might read his name, together with Maſter *Bowchers* not in the Catalogue of *Confeſſours*, but inrolled in the *noble Army of Martyrs*.

When the time of their martyrdome drew neere, Colonell *Fines* for feare the City ſhould oppoſe his bloody intentions concealed the time reſolved on to put them in execution: but when the fatall day was come *Fiennes* drew his Forces into the Marſh the common place where they made their Muſters: hee cauſed the Gates ſuddenly to be ſhut, the City not knowing his intention, and preſently drew Partees of horſe and foot into every ſtreet, to awe the Citizens, and to ſuppreſſe inſurrections, if haply they ſhould recover ſo much of the ancient courage of true Engliſh men not to ſuffer ſo great a breach to be made on their lives and liberties, as to ſee their fellow Citizens led like ſheep to the ſlaughter, & they in the mean time ſtand dumb like ſheepe and not oppoſe it: nor was it without good reaſon that *Fiennes* ſhould ſuſpect ſome oppoſition from the City, for (beſides that they now ſaw the baſeſt of the City made of the Councell of warre, and the power of life and death over the Magiſtrates delivered in their hands that before this Rebellion were never thought fit to beare the office of Scavenger)

ger) Maſter *Yeomans* and Maſter *Bowcher* were men of Eminency in the City, generally beloved, and their Crime knowne to be nothing but Loyalty, They could not likewiſe but conſider that an Iſſue of bloud was that day opened that might in time prove fatall to them, and Involve them in the ſame Condition, for if *Fiennes* and his bloud-hounds ſhall for any other virtue paſſe the like ſentence on any of them, as they did on theſe for their Loyalty, not conſpiring with them to Murther their Soveraigne, what power ſhall protect them from ſuch oppreſſion who having to their owne ruine refuſed the Kings protection, are growne ſo tame as not with the hazard of their lives to protect themſelves?

Having thus made all ſecure, they bring the priſoners from the Caſtle to the maine Court of Guard, in the way as they went, the people greedy to ſee, and ſalute theſe unhappy aſſertors of their liberty, preſſe to the hazard of many blowes to take their farewell of them, they in a curteous deportment returning hearty thankes for thoſe dangerous expreſſions of their affections, for it was reaſon enough to be committed as a Malignant to owne them or ſo much as to pray for them.

To prepare themſelves for their death they made it an humble requeſt that they might have the aſſiſtance of Maſter *Twogood* and Maſter *Standfaſt* two Orthodox learned and pious Miniſters of the City, to helpe to ſweeten that bitter Cup of which they were to drinke, and by ſpirituall comfort to take off from the ſharpeneſſe of thoſe dreggs which they were to ſucke up: but as if they meant to murther their Soules as well as their bodies to vexe their righteous Soules inſtead of comforting them againſt the approach of death, they refuſe to condeſcend to ſo reaſonable a requeſt, & impoſe on them *Cradock* & *Fowler* two Emiſſaries ſent to that City to poyſon it with Schiſme and Rebellion, that ſo they might fill up the meaſure of their ſinnes and ripen them for deſtruction.

Standing at the foote of the Tree that by and by was to beare fruit unto eternall life, it was obſerved by ſome of theſe Murtherers (well skilled it ſeemes in the art and Method of hanging) that the halters were too long, or too ſhort or elſe not tyed

ed fast enough, some fault there was which the deaths-man had directions to correct, He obeying the directions of the cheife Hangman, goes up and takes of the halters, the people who came thither Spectators of this bloudy Tragedy, Standing at distance and not privy to the intention, fondly conceited that certainely Colonell *Fiennes* had sent a reprive, and Instantly expressed the greatnesse of their Joy by the loudnesse of their Acclamations: Never considering *Fines* his Extraction being borne and bred in a family *Sworne enemies to Monarchy, and all that love it*: At last seeing the guards stand fix'd and that this Stay was but to make Surer worke, the Executioner fastning his Instruments of death according to the directions given him by them whose journeyman he was: the people, as if strooke with thunder, or blasted with lightnings stood amazed, untill at last, astonishment giving way to Compassion they sent out teares instead of acclamations, and exchanged their joy for lamentations.

All things thus made ready to offer up these Innocents, sacrifices to the Implacable rage of *Fines* and his fellow Rebells: Master *Robert Yeomans* is first commanded to ascend the Ladder, thence to reach his *Crowne of Martyrdome*. But remembering whose piety it was in the middest of his sufferings to recommend his Mother to the care of a guardian (being himselfe to leave this world,) he first makes his addresse to his Father-in-law Master *Yeomans* and tell's him that he had left him a Legacy, *viz.* his wife then great with child and eight small children, The eldest not able to put on its owne cloathes: and so with many imbracements left him, and set forward in his way to heaven.

And now being seated in that place of shame and Ignominy (so it is in its owne Nature where the goodnesse of the cause doth not change the *accursed Tree* into a *Theater of honour*) and finding himselfe made a *spectacle* to that City wherein he had lived in plenty and honour being *Sheriffe* but the yeare before, in discharge of which office he was inferiour to none of his predecessours in bounty and magnificence which Colonell *Popham* and his freinds by frequent Experience know very well: And from that sad prospect taking a view of many freind

freinds that could hardly looke through their owne tears to see him againe: And from thence too, seing some of a farre different affection that rejoyced in his sufferings, and amongst them *Robert Baugh* the Sheepes-skin-dresser (*Fines* his associate in the Councell of Warre) in a deviliſh cruelty (And let God that righteous Judge require it at his hands) ſtand jeering and mocking at him to his face, here *fleſh and blond* interpoſed, which tranſported him to an expoſtulation bordering betweene Indignation and Submiſſion, ſaying, *good God what have I done to be here?* but Inſtantly ſorry that humane fraylty ſhould extort any thing from him, unbeſeeming the Juſtice of his cauſe or the braveneſſe of his Chriſtian reſolution, ſilencing the ſuggeſtions of ſuch ill Councellours, he compoſed himſelfe to ſpeake ſome thing to the people.

His ſtrength exhauſted by long and many ſufferings diſabled him to ſpeake much or lowd, yet willing to cleare himſelf from that prejudice under which he lay, of an intention to maſſacre all that ſhould adheere to the Two Houſes (which ſome miſ-call a Parliament) laying his hand upon his breſt, & fixing his eyes on heaven the habitation of the God of truth, he made a ſolemne proteſtation of his innocency from any ſuch thought: he profeſſed his firme perſwaſion of the juſtice of that cauſe for the defence of which he ſuffered, affirming that if he had more lives he would ſacrifice them all to the ſervice of his Soveraigne in the ſame way: & therfore we may Juſtly wonder at the frontleſſe impudence of *that Clement Walker* that ſhould tell the world in print that Maſter *Yeomans* did confeſſe that he was *convicted in conſcience of the juſtneſſe of the Parliaments Cauſe*: but they that know the man and that poore ſtocke either of religion or honeſty which he hath, neede not wonder that he that before this Parliament made it his frequent Theame to declaime againſt *Puritans* ſhould now (judgeing them to be the prevailing faction) to endeare himſelfe unto them: firſt embrew his hands in theſe Gentlemans blood, & then report him falſely to poſterity as if he had recented that loyalty for which, and in which he profeſſed he died.

While he was thus ſpeaking to the people, Serjeant Major *Langridge* and *Clifton* call upon the executioner to haſten the

worke: nay they did not sticke to interrupt Master *Yeamons* in his discourse, and to goad him on the sides & thighs with their Halberts, bidding him to contract and make an end: hereupon he desired the witnesses of his suffering to sing with him the 130 Psalm, which he sung with great elevation of spirit and fervency of devotion, knowing that presently he should be translated from this *Bochim* the *valley of teares*, where we doe not so much sing a sigh out our Hymnes into that triumphant Quire, wherewith Angels, and Archangels, & all the powers of heaven he should sing Haleluliahs and Anthemes of Joy for evermore: Having finished the Psalme and some other prayers, & amongst the rest, instantly beseeching God not to charge his death upon that City, nor require his Innocent bloud at their hands: prayed for his persecutors & adjured his friends not to harbor a thought of revenge, he began againe to make some addresse to the people chalenging the world *there* to testifie against him, if he had wronged any man, and begining to apologize for his Innocency even in the very cause of his death, *Langridge* and *Clifton* the cheife hangmen under *Fines* their Master, knowing how much his words might prevaile with the people, and that one *Martyr falling quickly springs up into many Converts*, caused him instantly to be throwne off, hardly giving him so much time as in some short ejaculations to recommend his soule to God: and now *there* he is *under the Altar*, and joynes in that shrill cry that cals loud in the eares of God, *How long O Lord holy and true, dost thou not Judge and avenge our blood on them that dwelt on the earth?* being throwne off, and his body swinging with the fall his Brother in law Master *John Haggat*, an honest Gentleman & of good quality in the city, put out his hand to stay it, which (that inhumane villaine) *Clifton* seing, strooke him with his cane with that violence that he had almost Stroken him to the ground, good God, which shall we most wonder at, either the barbarous inhumanity of this murtherer, or the degenerous Ignoble patience of the Citizens of *Bristoll*, that could stand by & see all this, & not choose either to live freely or die couragiously together.

Rev 6. 10.

Having had sufficient experience of the *Tamenesse* of the *Citizens* and that there was no danger of opposition to be feared from

from them, the Rebels wade on in blood. And having murthered Maſter *Yeomans* they command Maſter *Bowcher* to aſcend the ladder: It ſeemes by what he left written by his own hand, and written to that purpoſe to communicate it to the world, that he intended to be large, Exhorting thoſe (to uſe his owne words) who *had ſet their hands to the plow* (meaning the maintenance of the Kings cauſe) *not to be too haſty (as terrified with their ſufferings) to take them off: nor to regard thoſe beggerly and Schyſmaticall rudiments which crafty and malicious men had invented and introduced into the Church of God in theſe laſt and worſt times of the World, denying the Truth, and bringing in d mnable poſitions of their owne deviſing, &c.* And likewiſe giving an exact character of the Schyſmaticks that domineere at this time, in the draught borrowing the pencill of the Holy Ghoſt, I meane deſcribing them in the Phraſe of the Scriptures, a man very well able to do it, being verſed in the Scriptures, a frequent hearer of Sermons, and by the teſtimony of his very enemies confeſſed to be a Religious man: *Proud* (ſaith he) *they are, boaſters, heady, unſtable, who cenſure as unjuſt the actions of others before they receive reſolution from God, or rightly underſtand his will touching their owne, having hearts fraught with malice, inceſſantly labouring to bring to paſſe their deviliſh deſignes by peſtilent plots, dawbing and painting them over with falſe gloſſes againſt the light of their owne conſcience, and againſt that knowledge which they have in the Lawes both of God and Man; juſtifying the wicked, and condemning the innocent, &c.* This was too much truth to be ſpoken to them whom it did ſo much concern, & therfore was not permitted to ſpeak ſo largely to the aſſembly: at laſt preſſed on to haſten his death by thoſe that are *ſwift to ſhed blood*: he deſired to ſing *Pſal.* 16. which being ended, he began to recommend his Soul to God in moſt pious patheticall Prayers and ejaculations; but they are not content that he ſhould ſpeak either to the *People* or to his *God*; for *Roſewell* a *Levite* of their own, & a cract-brain Seperatiſt interrupts him in the midſt of his devotions, reviles him and calls him *Hypocrite & Apoſtate, That after ſo ſtrict a converſation, ſo much time ſpent in the profeſſion of Religion, he ſhould render all ſuſpected for hypocriſie by ſo obſtinate perſeverance in his Rebel-*

lion againſt the Parliament, he meant for dying for his loyalty to his Soveraigne: all this moved not the conſtancy of this reſolved Martyr, but according to the adviſe of Saint *Bernard*, he held up *ſcutum conſcientiæ contra Gladium Linguæ*, the buckler of a good conſcience to ward the blowes of a malicious Tongue, knowing that as the *flattering Tongue* is no *cure* for a *bad*, ſo the *rayling Tongue* is no *wound* to the *good* conſcience, poſſeſſing his Soule therefore in patience, he lets this ſnarling Dog bark on, reſolving with holy *Job*, *Ecce in cœlo Teſtis meus, Behold my witneſſe is in Heaven, and my Record is on high*: and ſo ſuſtaining his ſoule under the burden of that reproach with that comfortable promiſe of our Saviour, *Bleſſed are yee when men ſhall revile you and perſecute you, and ſhall ſay all manner of evill againſt you falſly for my ſake, rejoyce and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven*: he yeilded himſelfe to the will and deſire of his Murtherers; This *Roſewell*, in his very fall from the Ladder, perſuing him with the odious names of *Hypocrite* and *Apoſtate*, thereby (if it had beene poſſible) to diſturbe the peace of his *Soule*, and indanger his *Charity* in that very inſtant when he was going out of the World, and ready to be preſented at the dreadfull Tribunall of that moſt righteous Judge, *who putteth no truſt in his Saints, yea, the Heavens are not cleare in his ſight*: a practice ſo voyd of Chriſtianity, nay ſo perfectly deviliſh to extend malice even to the endeavours of a *ſecond death*, That had a blacke Angell beene diſpatched from Hell, (an agent for that kingdome of darkneſſe) he could not have done more to advance damnation, or approve himſelfe a malitious emiſſary of that bottomleſſe pit, then this Schyſmaticke did.

Ser. 40. de modo bene viven. di.

Job 16. 19.

Mat. 5. 11, 12.

Job 15. 15.

Pag. 19.

Theſe two now glorious Martyrs, having thus through their ignominious death's rendered their Soules to God, the ſpectators ſmite their breaſts and returne: never was there ſo generall a face of ſorrow, ſuch bitter lamentation heard in that City, as on this day: their bodies taken downe were both carryed to Maſter *Yeomans* his houſe, Father in law to Maſter *Robert Yeomans*: in the evening Maſter *Bowchers* body was conveyed to his owne houſe, a ſad ſpectacle to his poore Widow and ſeven Orphans, and that night they were both interr'd, Maſter *Yeo-*

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mans at *Chriſt Church*, Maſter *Bowcher* at Saint *Warburgh's*; their Funeralls being attended by thoſe Orthodox Miniſters that the perſecution had left, and by moſt of the honeſt well-affected Citizens; though they knew that they could not expreſſe this piety to the dead, but to the hazard of looſing their liberties, and plundering their eſtates.

Thus have you ſeene the Martyrdome of theſe loyall Citizens, ſuffering for their *Religion, by Sectaries* and *Atheiſts*, for their *Loyalty*, by *Traytors* and *Rebels*, and for their *Lawes* and *Liberties*, by *Libertines* and *ſons* of *Belial*; a fact ſo horrid, and in which ſo many acts of cruelty and injuſtice did meet and concentre, that as no Hiſtory (not that of the *Anabaptiſts* of *Germany*) cannot give us a Paralell of this Rebellion, ſo this Rebellion cannot give us a Paralell of this Murther, except they that gave us this doe give us more, as the report is, they have lately done in Murthering Maſter *Tompkins*, Maſter *Chaloner* and others in *London* in the ſame manner: It will therefore be worth our labour to conſider thoſe many obſtacles of Religion and Law which *Fines* and his fellow Murtherers brake through to make way to the bloud of theſe Martyrs, and they will ſerve as ſo many juſt aggravations of their ſinne.

Firſt, had theſe gentlemen committed any capitall crime, yet the puniſhment not derived from lawfull authority cannot excuſe thoſe that inflict it, from the guilt of Murther; for the Sword of Juſtice is put immediately by God into the Kings hand, and into His hand onely: *Nemo eſt Dominus vitæ ſuæ*, No man is Lord of his owne life, is a concluſion admitted by all Caſuiſts and Schoolmen, and therefore no community of men, (it being ſuppoſed which wee ſhall never grant) that all other Authority is originally in the people, as the *Jeſuits* and *Puritanes* ſhake hands and agree in this) can either exerciſe themſelves, or give to any other, *jus gladii*, the right of the ſword, but onely he who is, *ſupremus Arbiter vitæ & necis*, the ſupreme Judge of life and death, as *Zuares* himſelfe confeſſeth: Now in this proceeding of *Fines*, there was no derived Authority from the King, but it was done poynt blanke contrary to his expreſſe command, who legally hath power to re-

prieve or pardon, if there had beene Treaſon proved againſt them, and that is the King.

Secondly, they were Innocent men, and therefore the fact more barbarous, and calls lowder in the eares of God and the King for vengeance: their very duty to God and the King was made their Crime, for to indeavour to deliver up the City into the Kings poſſeſſion, kept againſt him by *Fines* and others (then moſt trayterous Traitors this Land ever groaned under) was but their duty, and that which the reſt of their fellow Citizens ſtood obliged to do as well as themſelves, by virtue of the Oathes of Allegiance and the Parliaments Proteſtation it ſelfe.

Thirdly, it was directly againſt the knowne Lawes of this Kingdome whereby it is provided, That *none that ſhall attend upon the King and doe him true ſervice ſhall be attainted, or forfeit any thing*; ſo wee find it in the Title of that Statute, 11. *Hen. 7. cap.* 1. where after the preamble, expreſſing, that it is not *reaſonable, but againſt all Lawes, reaſon, and good conſcience, that any man ſhould ſuffer in his life and fortunes for adhering to the King that was in actuall poſſeſſion of the Crowne, though another pretender might be on foote*: It ordaines thus, *That from thenceforth no manner of perſon or perſons whatſoever he or they be that attend upon the King and Soveraigne Lord of this Land for the time being in his perſon, and doe him true and faithfull ſervice of allegiance in the ſame, or Be in other places by his commandement, in his Warres within this Land or without, That for the ſayd deed and true duty of Allegiance he or they be in no wiſe convict or attaint of High Treaſon, nor of other offences for that cauſe by Act of Parliament, or otherwiſe by any proceſſe of Law, whereby he or any of them ſhall looſe or forfeit Life, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Poſſeſſions, Hereditaments, Goods, Catles, or any other things, but to be for that deed and ſervice, utterly diſcharged of any vexation, trouble, or loſſe*: Had not theſe men ſeared conſciences, and we e becomefrontleſſe, I wonder how they durſt goe about to abuſe the world ſo groſſely, (and which onely is the greater wonder) how they ſhould prevaile with a great part of the world to bebeleive them, that they have taken up Armes for the defence of the Lawes, and yet break the Lawes ſo apparently: for this Law enacted in the 11. of *Hen-*

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ry the 7th, ſtands at this day in force unrepealed, and yet they murther theſe Innocents for ſerving the King in his Warres according to their duty and allegiance, having a command and *Commiſſion* under the Kings owne hand to raiſe Forces in that City for his ſervice.

Fourthly, theſe Gentlemen were not onely innocent, free from any crime; but highly deſerving of the City, labouring to free it from that bondage and ſlavery in which it now was, and reduce it to its former happines by its former obedience, and highly meriting of the Kingdome too, in giving ſo brave a patterne of loyalty and allegiance to this backſliding, revolting generation; had their counſell beene followed, and their indeavours ſeconded by the reſt of the Citizens, how glorious a City had *Briſtol* beene at this day? how had *Severne* advanced her ſelfe above her ſiſter *Thamiſis*, that while this was tainted with that rebellious City which defiles her banks, ſhee had beene glorious, as with the bounteous loyalty of *Shrewſbury*, and the loyall valour of *Worceſter*, ſo with the bare obedience of *Briſtol*? how will this miſerable ſeduced City ſtand in our Annals when poſterity ſhall read, that the Women of *Worceſter* (to their eternall honour I ſpeake it) ſhould cut downe Hedges, levell Ditches, caſt up fortifications to keepe themſelves under the Kings protection, repell the Rebels and keepe them out, and *Briſtol* ſhould fortifie againſt their Soveraigne, and willingly admit the Rebels in: yet I would not be miſtaken, as if I meant to lay this Rebellion to the charge of the whole City, 'tis unjuſt, *paucorum amentiam civitati aſſignare, ſuo quemque periculo furere*: as *Zeno* ſpake for the Magnetians; every man Rebels at his owne perill, many there are in that City that have not bowed the knee to *Baal*, adored any Faction in Parliament to the forfeiture of their loyalty: nor is it my intention to aſcribe the Treaſon of *Aldworth* the Mayor, and *Browne* one of the preſent Sheriffs, and ſome few other turbulent ſpirits to the whole City. Liv. l. 45.

Fiftly, they murther them under a pretence and ſhew of *juſtice*, and make the ordinances of God to ſtop their bloudy intentions, the world may remember from whence they tooke their patterne, the example was given in to Noble bloud, and though

though to ſmother the cry and awe the world to ſilence, they have laboured to diſgrace the Advocates of that bloud by adjudging their pleadings to the fire by the hand of a publique Hagman, yet the voyce of this bloud cryes loud from the ground which *opened her mouth to receive it from their hands*: nor can wee ever hope that this land can be cleanſed, either from that or this bloud, but by the bloud of them that ſhed it.

Laſtly, which is no ſmall aggravation, it was a murther in coole bloud, (if it may be thought that Schyſmaticks know any other temper then hot:) had it beene committed *Flagranti crimine* (as they conceived it) when the Plot was firſt diſcovered, repreſented to the people as a bloudy deſigne to murther all that did not ſide with them, and the like, there might *Aliquid humani intervenire*, paſſion then might have ſilenced reaſon, and tranſported them to do what in a ſerene calme conſideration, they would judge monſtrous and cruel; but to give time to their indignation to breath out it ſelfe, to give ſpace for mediaions from Court to propitiate their anger, and to ſleep upon it twelve or thirteene weekes, and after all this to murther them, argues the implacableneſſe of their malice, *ſtrong as death*, and *cruell as the grave*, and gives a ſufficient taſte to the world what meaſures they are to expect from the *Puritans*, and the men of this *Faction*, if God have ſo little pleaſure in us, or his wrath wax ſo hot againſt us, as to deliver us up to their power: and if the infatuated abuſed world does after all this *yet* dote upon their hypocriſie, or promiſe themſelves, that there can by any goodneſſe, mercy, or compaſſion found amongſt them: let them but conſider how *Fines* and his *Brethren in evill* perpetuate their cruelty from the Husband to the Wife, and from the Parents to their Children; after they had perſued theſe innocents to death, and by that had made two diſconſolate widowes and ſeventeene poore fatherleſſe children, on a poſthume a man would have thought that the effuſion of innocent blood, the diſtreſſed condition of widowes and orphans woud have wrought ſome remorſe in them, at leaſt to have bemoaned their owne rage with *Lamech*, *we have ſlaine men to our wondring, and innocent men to our hurt*; or elſe indeavoured to make ſome recompence to thoſe diſconſolate ſoules

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which they had left behind them: No, as if they had done God good ſervice in perſecuting the fatherleſſe and widowes and ſuch as had no helper, having murthered theſe men they oppreſſe their widowes and fatherleſſe children *Miſtriſſe Hazard a zelous ſiſter reſolves, that it's pitty but that their childrens braines ſhould be daſhed out againſt the ſtones, that no more of their race might remaine on the face of the earth*: and if we conſider how *Fines* hath dealt with the widows and their children, you would not thinke Miſtriſſe *Hazard* ſingular in this opinion. Miſtriſſe *Yeomans* had eight children when her husband was murthered, the eldeſt not able (as I told you before) to dreſſe it ſelfe without helpe, and was now great with the ninth, and though they had ſeized on his eſtate to a very great value, yet they put the poore widow to redeeme the ſmall remainder (in compariſon of the reſt) at no leſſe then 500l.

Miſtreſſe *Bowcher* had ſeven children, and though her husband had loſt above 2000l in this action, yet they ſeize upon the reſt as forfeited to them: and make her enter into bond with a ſurety ingaged with her, not to take any thing out of her houſe without an eſpeciall warrant from them: And that the world may ſee how unlimited a power we are like to groane under, if the Rebels ſhould prevaile, They baniſh Maſter *Bouchers* Eldeſt ſonne *John Boucher* (a young man of good hopes) a ſtay of the Mothers age, and one who might be a comfort to her and a help to his Brothers and Siſters: him they doome to exile in *France* or *Spaine*, not to returne untill recall'd by order of both Houſes: two Sureties being bound in a bond of a hundered pounds that he ſhall ſubmit to the ſentence and depart the Kingdome, which tyrannicall Ordinance was obeyed, the young man (as we are credibly informed from thence) being ſhip't for his baniſhment on the 19 of *Iune* laſt:

And as they are mercileſſe themſelves, ſo they awe thoſe that would ſhew mercy to theſe diſconſolate families, ſo that they dare not: I have ſeene a letter written from one of the widowes to a freind of hers, wherein ſhe bemoanes her condition, and bewailes that more then *Turkiſh* oppreſſion under which ſhe, and her poore Orphans ſuffer, take the widowes complaint in her owne words, *My freinds ſtand afarre off, they pitty but*

dare not help me, give me your adviſe by the next what I were beſt to do; I know not what to aske, nor of whom, wanting freinds to direct me, none daring to viſit me, or hardly to ſpeak to me or mine for feare of trouble and danger: See here, and wonder, in this populous City this poore forſaken widow finds none to comfort or aſſiſt her, ſhe is inforced to ſend abroad, and implore adviſe and counſell from them that dwelt a hundred miles from *Briſtoll*.

Good God! did theſe men (who would be thought to have all knowledge of the ſcriptures to dwell with them) never read that of Exodus 22. *Ye ſhall not afflict any widow or fatherleſſe child; if thou afflict them in any wiſe, and they cry at all unto me, I will ſurely heare their cry: And my wrath ſhall wax hot, and I will kill you with the ſword, and your wives ſhall be widowes and your children fatherleſſe?* and if we well conſider it we ſhall find that God hath made good his word in this particular; It being an obſervation not more generall then true, that ſince to their ſins of *Treaſon and Rebellion*, they have added the *guilt of innocent bloud*, together with *oppreſſion of their Widowes and Fatherleſſe children*, God hath ſtill cut them ſhort, nor have they proſpered in any thing which they have undertaken:

Ver. 22, 23, 24.

This then is the ſad condition of theſe miſerably oppreſſed widowes and their poore fatherleſſe children: *Their huſbands murthered*, their *children baniſhed*, their *eſtates confiſcated*, themſelves *robb'd of all comfort* that might be adminiſtred from others.

And now if it be good (and *Solomon* ſayes it is) *to goe into the houſe of mourning*, in your meditations, (at leaſt) turne aſide and afford a viſite on theſe diſtreſſed Families; that *water their couches*, and bath themſelves in their owne teares; and there is none to wipe them from their eies; *here* you ſhall ſee plentifull matter whereon to exerciſe your compaſſions: Mothers bewayling the fruit of their wombs, preferring barrenneſſe and dry papps before the teeming wombe bringing forth children to ſuch miſerie: *here* you ſhall ſee children drinking the teares which fall from their mothers eyes, and in a pious gratitude returning them againe from their owne: *here* are ſuch intercourſes of ſorow, ſuch exchanges of teares, ſuch eccho's of mutuall lamentations, that if ever you will *weepe with thoſe that weepe*, and

Eccleſ. 7. 2.

and mourne with those that mourne, it will be here:

And if *the heart of the wise be in the house of mourning* (as the same Solomon sayes it is) certainely it cannot be wanting here: your *heart* will be *wise* chearefully to assist your gratious Soveraigne, who hath no other intention in taking up armes then to shake of this insupportable yoke of bondage which these rebels have put upon the neck both of Church and State: *It* will be *wise* to abhorre that damnable faction that stickt not to wade through a sea of innocent blood to land at their owne ends on the other side: *it* will be *wise* to rouse up it selfe to a just indignation against the actors of this bloody tragedy, and endeavour by all meanes possible to call them to an account for these horrid murthers: and lastly *it* will be *wise* to take the sword of that usurp'd *Militia* out of the hands of these mad men that would use it to the destruction of the King and his faithfull Subjects: and to rest secure (as heretofore) under the Kings protection: that so these two, together with Master *Tompkins* and Master *Chaloner* lately murthered in *London* for the same loyalty, may be the last names inrowled in the Catalogue of *State Martyrs*. Eccles. 7. 4.

But if all the world should loose their bowells of compassions, and passe by these families without regard, as careing for none of these things, not *drawing out their soules to the afflicted*; yet I have a double *Commission* to speake a word of Comfort to *Mistrisse Yeomans*, *Mistresse Bowcher* and to their *fatherlesse Children*, and not only to them, but to all *such* that in this *cause* shall suffer the *like oppression*: and I doubt not but *they* that warranted me to make the promise, will in due time make it good, in despight of all those malignants that would make comfort a stranger in their habitations.

My first *Commission* is from *God*, who hath promised to be nigh unto all those that are oppressed with wrongs: but most eminently and often hath he vouchsafed this promise to Widowes and the Fatherlesse: *He is a Father of the fatherlesse and defendeth the cause of the Widowes, even God in his holy habitation*; nay (says God) *Leave thy fatherlesse children to me, I will preserve them and let thy Widowes trust in me*: So says *God*, and so says the *King* too, Gods Vicegerent here on earth; Psal. 68. 5. Jer. 49. 11.

from whom I have my ſecond *Commiſſion* to tell the world: *Leave theſe fatherleſſe children to him*, He *will releeve them*, and *let theſe Widowes relye on him*: as in many other things he is like his God (none that ever ſate on this Throne more like him) ſo in this he will imitate the God of mercyes, and doth ingage himſelfe in the word of a *King*, That he will be a *Father to theſe and all ſuch fatherleſſe children*; *He will defend the cauſe of theſe and all ſuch Widowes*, and wee doubt not but the time will come, and that very ſhortly, when theſe *Locuſts that would have no King* being ſcattered, that of *Solomon* will become *Canonicall Scripture* againe, *where the word of a King is, there is power*: In the meane time under this confidence, Let them *poſſeſſe their ſoules in patience*.

Eccleſ. 8. 4.

And though their dead cannot be recall'd againe, the Iron Gate that leads *ad domum conſtitutam*, as *Job* ſpeakes, to *the houſe appoynted for all the living*; being barr'd up againſt them, which none but the power of the Reſurrection can open; yet right *pretious in the ſight of God*, the King, and all good men will the *death of theſe Saints be*: and though wicked men have gone about to ſully their memory with the odious names of Traytors and Conſpirators; yet when their owne names ſhall rot and ſtink in the noſthrils of men, the memories of theſe Martyrs ſhall be embalmed with reſtitution of their owne due honour, and their Names remain as *a pretious oyntment powred out* with our poſterities for ever.

Job. 30. 23.

Thus, as the paſſionate *Levite* ſent the pieces of the diſſected body of his abuſed *Concubine*, through all the Coaſts of *Iſrael*, that as one man they might ſtand up to revenge ſo barbarous a fact: ſo have I indeavoured to expoſe theſe murthered *Martyrs* to the view of all the world; being a fact, *quod orbis viribus expiari debuit*, as *Juſtine* ſpeakes in another caſe, which calls for an expiation by the united ſtrength, if not of the world, yet of the Kingdome; not doubting but all that read this ſtory will conclude, as *Iſrael* did in *that* (with ſome ſmall change) *There was no ſuch deed done, nor ſeen, ſince the day that the Britiſh Nation was redeemed from Paganiſme unto this day*: CONSIDER OF IT, TAKE ADVISE, AND SPEAK-E YOUR MINDE.

Jud. 19.

Juſt. de bello à Philippo Maced. in Phocenſes.

FINIS.

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